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AUTHOR Peterson, Anne R.
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ABSTRACT

Fifty retired teachers were interviewed in an effort to acquire information about how their attitudes and outlooks changed throughout the course of careers in secondary schools spanning an average period of 38 years each. Of particular interest in the study was the emergence of changes in personal attitudes and changes in attitudes toward others. Four areas of personal change were reported by the retired teachers as they recalled their careers: (1) changes in level of commitment to teaching; (2) changes in level of job morale; (3) changes associated with the physical processes of aging; and (4) changes in levels of tolerance. Changes were noted in the perceptions of students, parents, colleagues, school community, and administrators. Results indicated that teacher attitudes and outlooks change in fairly predicatable sequences that are in turn related to changes associated with the processes of adult development. A copy of the questionnaire used in the study is appended. (JD)

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TEACHERS' CHANGING PERCEPTIONS OF SELF AND OTHERS THROUGHOUT THE TEACHING CAREER: SOME PERSPECTIVES FROM AN INTERVIEW STUDY OF FIFTY RETIRED SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS

a paper presented by

Anne R. Peterson, Ph.D

Columbus Technical Institute
Columbus, Ohio

at the

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Introduction

The teaching career presents a number of problems to those interested in discovering and describing the stages of career growth and development common to all teachers. In contrast to more traditional careers in business and industry, teaching does not exhibit clear career stages or career ladders defined by different job statuses, increased responsibility and influence, and increased salary and other rewards. The person who has been in teaching for three years does essentially the same thing as the person who has been teaching for thirty-five years. Similarly, the neophyte teacher enjoys basically the same job status as does the experienced teacher. Even salary levels do not sharply distinguish the beginning teacher from the experienced one. Thus, many observers have concluded that teaching is an "unstaged" career that cannot be studied or described in the same way that other careers have been.

Until recently, this assumption has been allowed to stand unchallenged because other frameworks for defining and differentiating the stages of the teaching career were not available. Within the last twenty-five years, however, new research, particularly in the field of adult developmental psychology, has suggested new approaches to the study of the teaching career. It is now

possible to describe the teaching career as a group of three interlocking sequences of development: (1) a sequence of job events such as moves from school to school (Becker's concept of horizontal mobility[1]), the year and age of entry into and retirement from teaching, and the ages at which a teacher completes various education requirements, joins and resigns from professional groups, earns certain professional titles (such as master teacher or department chairperson), and achieves honors or other forms of recognition associated with teaching[2]; (2) a sequence of learnings of necessary job skills and behaviors; in particular, how and when a teacher acquires the ability to use certain teaching techniques and to devise new approaches to teaching or subject matter or when a teacher learns the whole range of personal skills and abilities needed to relate to his or her students, colleagues, supervisors, parents, and other members of the school community[3]; and (3) a sequence of changing attitudes and outlooks toward self and others tied to the processes of acquiring occupational experience and maturing across the lifespan.

This paper will focus on the latter sequence and will report some of the findings from an interview study of fifty retired secondary school teachers who were asked to recall their careers and the way that they had unfolded and, more significantly, how tneir feelings about themselves, their careers, and others changed as they progressed through the years in teaching.

Research Insights Regarding Changing Attitudes And Outlooks Towards Self and Others

The way that a person views himself or herself, and the way a person perceives others within the work environment, obviously will have a tremendous effect on that person's behavior. Levels of morale, performance and effectiveness are closely tied to self-concept and to views of self with reference to others. There is now evidence that certain job-related attitudes and outlooks are associated with the normal processes of adult development and aging. In this section, two areas of research, which served as a framework for the information reported in this paper, will be described: (1) research in adult developmental psychology which suggests common changes in attitudes and outlooks associated with aging and (2) research in the area of teacher morale which also suggests that job satisfaction and other teacher attitudes are associated with and vary according to age.

Insights From Adult Developmental Psychology

Research in the field of adult developmental psychology has been underway since the 1920's when Charlotte Bühler and Else Frenkel-Brunswik began to chart the stages of adult development using the biographies of famous men and women. The more recent work of Daniel Levinson, Roger Gould, and Bernice Neugarten and their associates provides a useful basis for conceptualizing some of the common changes in attitudes and outlooks associated with the process of aging.

Daniel Levinson

Daniel Levinson, a student and associate of Else Frenkel-Brunswik, interviewed forty men in four occupational categories (hourly workers, business executives, novelists and research biologists) beginning in January of 1969[4]. He and his associates conducted follow-up interviews with each man until 1973. The men in his group were between the ages of thirty-five and forty-five when they were first interviewed. Levinson utilized a biographical approach and asked each of his subjects to recall the broad outline and major events of his life. Based on his research and on the insights of other researchers, Levinson sees three broad eras of adulthood: (I) early adulthood from ages 18 to 40/45; (II) middle adulthood from ages 40/45 until 65; and (III) late adulthood from ages 60/65 until death. Levinson confined his interview study to the first two stages.

According to Levinson, each stage of adulthood involves periods of stability, which he labels "structure building," and periods of transition, which he calls "structure changing." There is a rhythm of decision-making, implementation of decisions, structuring, and reevaluation of decisions, restructuring, and change which occurs within each era of adulthood in fairly predictable sequences. Levinson and his associates were surprised to discover that remarkably uniform changes in outlooks, attitudes and behaviors were reported by each of the occupational groups interviewed.

Levinson places a great deal of emphasis on the period

from ages 40 to 45, which he labels the Mid-Life Transition period. During this time, a man enters middle adulthood and prepares himself to assume new responsibilities within his job and his family. In contrast to the work of his mentor Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson sees the period from age 45 until 60 as one of high productivity and performance. This is middle adulthood and is the prime of a man's life, rather than an era of decline. The Mid-Life Transition, however, involves a reorientation of values. During this period, a man's children have ordinarily reached adolescence and are preparing to leave home. His wife is faced with adjusting to a new role within the family and within the marriage. His parents may be aging and require his care. His former dependence on them is reversed, and, often, he becomes responsible for their well-being. A man by the age of 40 has usually achieved his career goals and some measure of prominence. It is then that he begins to reexamine his goals, deciding which paths he will follow in the years to come. Often, a man becomes less concerned with money and success after the Mid-Life Transition. He begins to look within himself and become more aware of his emotions and those of others.

Of key importance during this transitional phase, is the ability and willingness of a man to help other people accomplish their life goals. This involves becoming a mentor to other, younger individuals. Levinson found that many men in his sample reported having had a mentoring relationship that had sustained them and helped them to grow during early adulthood. These relationships were of short duration (three to five years) and resulted

in the internalization of the values and habits of the mentor in the younger adult. The issue of mentoring is of key importance in a study of the careers of teachers--individuals who have chosen to become permanent mentors. According to Levinson, a man is only able to be an effective mentor once he has passed the Mid-Life Transition:

> If a man has had good enough mentoring, and if he can resolve some of the basic polarities of the Mid-life Transition, he will gladly take on greater responsibility for furthering the development of young adults. A young man in his thirties may do an excellent job of teaching, supervising, and guiding younger persons. To be a mentor in a deeper sense, however, he must first have done the work of the Mid-life Transition.
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> Mentoring utilizes the parental impulse, but it is more complex and requires some degree of mid-life individuation. As he gains a stronger sense of self and of his own continuing development in middle adulthood, a man is more able to foster the development of other adults.
>
> There is a measure of altruism in mentoring--a sense of meeting an obligation, of doing something for another being. But more than altruism is involved: the mentor is doing something for himself. He is making productive use of his own knowledge and skill in middle age. He is learning in ways not otherwise possible. He is maintaining his connection with the forces of youthful energy in the world and in himself.[5]

Levinson's study ends with the successful completion of the Mid-Life Transition among members of his interview group.

A weakness of Levinson's study, which he acknowledges, is its exclusion of women whom he feels follow a different life development pattern by virtue of their roles as wives and mothers. Levinson believes that a man's career is the focus of the majority of his adult energies prior to mid-life; while a woman may have a career along with the responsibilities of wife and motherhood.

Roger Gould

Roger Gould of UCLA surveyed 524 white, middle class individuals who had been associated with the University of California at Los Angeles psychiatric outpatient clinic[6]. These individuals were asked to provide biographical details of their lives. Their responses were then categorized according to the life concerns which seemed to dominate their outlooks at different periods. Gould's data parallel Levinson's.

He found that early adulthood is characterized by leaving home, establishing one's own family, choosing a career and concentrating on becoming competent in the everyday world. The era lasts until age twenty-nine or thirty. Gould also uncovered a period of transition, self-reflection and questioning beginning around the age of thirty and lasting for three to five years. During this period, the economic demands of having a young family, buying a house and other items make money a major concern. After a person has established himself, there is another period of crisis which is similar to Levinson's idea of the Mid-Life Transition. This period lasts until age forty-three, on the average, and is followed by a period of stability, self-acceptance and new productivity. At age fifty, a person begins to notice a decline in energy and performance, but the period from fifty until sixty is generally a pleasant time characterized by mellowing attitudes and outlooks. During this stage, a person feels a sense of accomplishment at the same time that he becomes aware that "time is running out." Gould's research charts adult life stages

through the age of sixty, prior to the traditional age of retirement.

The work of Levinson and Gould suggests that the stage of adult development which has been labeled "middle age" need not be characterized by decline or crisis. In fact, their work suggests that aging brings with it new resources for productivity. The work of Bernice Neugarten confirms these findings about middle age.

Bernice Neugarten

In an interview study with 100 prominent and successful men and women between the ages of 40 and 60 years, Neugarten[7] found that middle aged individuals saw themselves as a distinct group, no longer young, but not yet old. The individuals she interviewed saw themselves in the prime of life and at the peak of their capacities and judgment. Women in the group reported a new sense of freedom linked to their decreased parental responsibilities. There was no evidence of the "empty nest" syndrome, a feeling of depression and purposelessness associated with having one's children grow up and leave home. Most members of the interview group reported increased self-assurance and a sense of positive autonomy. Neugarten acknowledges that she interviewed a special group of individuals whose life experiences may have biased the results of her study, but, nevertheless, her study seems to suggest a new view of middle age which other researchers have also uncovered.

Neugarten's work has also involved a study of the process of disengagement. According to the theory of disengagement, as people age, they remove their attention from the outside world and focus more within themselves. This process is thought to begin sometime in late middle age. The theory of disengagement owes a great deal to the Swiss psychologist Carl Jung. Although Jung never formally articulated a theory of aging, he did indicate in his autobiography[8] and elsewhere that life was divided into two halves. The first half of life was devoted to such outer goals as marriage, child-rearing, and occupational and social achievement. At age forty, Jung felt that a man entered the second half of life when he became more inwardly oriented, more concerned with self-definition and understanding than with his place in the outer world. Many argue that the process of disengagement has a functional value. The aging person prepares to set aside certain responsibilities at the same time that society no longer needs or wants his active social involvement.

In a series of studies undertaken between 1952 and 1962 in Kansas City, Missouri, Neugarten and her associates attempted to determine whether individuals undergo a process of disengagement and, if so, when it occurs. The researchers contacted, interviewed and tested several hundred adults between the ages of forty and sixty-five[9]. The participants in the Kansas City study were all white middle class individuals who were in good health and who lived in their own homes, rather than in a hospital or other

facility. Neugarten notes that the characteristics of this sample group may not be typical of the elderly population as a whole and that the conclusions reached must be interpreted cautiously.

Strong evidence of disengagement was discovered among the adults surveyed. Psychological tests revealed that the process of disengagement was underway during the fifties, even though the individuals gave no outward sign that they were preparing to withdraw themselves from the social world. Actual social disengagement appeared around the age of sixty-five, the traditional age of retirement for males in American society. Neugarten summarizes the study's findings as follows:

> The direction of personality change, then, from middle to old age seems to be one of increased inner orientation, increased separation from the environment; a certain centripetal movement which leads to increased consistency and decreased complexity and in which synthesizing and executive qualities, in maintaining their centrality, also maintain the continuity of the personality.[10]

It should be noted that Neugarten and her associates discovered several different patterns of successful aging. Disengagement was only one of the successful patterns. Many individuals remained socially active and involved long after retirement, and those who did become disengaged socially did so in a positive manner. Havinghurst, Neugarten and Tobin conclude:

> As people age, they are less active and regret the loss of activity, but they retain a positive self-evaluation of themselves as well as satisfaction with their past and present life as a whole.[11]

Research in the field of adult developmental psychology suggests that there are definite stages of adulthood which are associated with certain common attitudes and outlooks. Generally speaking, early adulthood (from the approximate ages of 20 to 35) involves making, implementing and evaluating several significant decisions regarding career, marriage, and family life style. Personal outlooks vary widely during this period. There is both stress and exhilaration. The era of middle adulthood (from the approximate ages of 35 to 55) appears to be one of great energy and productivity, the "prime of life" in every sense. Earlier decisions are confirmed and elaborated. Individuals are able to achieve their valued goals and work beyond them. Finally, late adulthood (from the approximate ages of 55 until death) is marked by a continuity of personal outlook, tempered by declining energy and also, possibly, by a process of psychological and social disengagement.

Warren A. Peterson

In a pioneering effort, Warren A. Peterson (no relation to this author), a student and associate of Bernice Neugarten, made use of research on the processes of aging to define the career patterns of high school teachers[12]. He interviewed 56 female high school teachers in 1953 and was able to establish three career phases associated with the processes of adult development within the teacher role: (1) youth (ages 22 to 35); (2) middle age (ages 35 to 50); and (3) maturity (ages 50 until retirement which

was age 70 in the school district he used).

Peterson found that teachers perceive themselves and are perceived by their students in different ways at different times during their life cycle. He summarizes his findings as follows:

> A teacher begins teaching children when her age position to them is like that of an older sister; in mid-career she is about the age of their parents, and if she continues teaching to the age of retirement. . . she may be older than their grandparents.[13]

Peterson found that most of the teachers in his sample recalled their early career as the "happiest" time teaching. As they began to age, many became sensitive about their loss of youthfulness. Since about two-thirds of his sample were single women, many reported that they had to come to terms around the age of thirty-five with the fact that they might never marry. These teachers came to accept their career and probable spinsterhood at that time. They then made a full commitment to teaching and entered a period in which they saw themselves as being their most productive and most active professionally. The middle aged teachers in this study saw themselves in the prime of life and felt that they were the leaders of their schools. They also reported the highest levels of contentment with teaching.

Mature teachers showed several different patterns as they completed their careers. Many were unable to come to terms with the process of aging. Some looked back over their careers with regret that they had chosen to spend their lives tending to other peoples' children. This group felt that they had not received

adequate recognition for their efforts. Differences of age and outlook separated this group from both their students and their younger colleagues. They often felt isolated and alone.

A few teachers were able to age more successfully. These women managed to retain their youthful appearance along with high levels of energy. They continued to "fit in" to a younger age group. Other successful older teachers were those who were perceived as eccentrics or "old characters," and those who made use of their age and experience to become mother/grandmother substitutes for their students. Apparently, the women who aged in "normal" ways, from a biological and social standpoint, experienced a decline in energy and enthusiasm for teaching. They often left teaching with a great deal of bitterness and regret.

Peterson's study is quite suggestive of the way that adult developmental data can be used to uncover the internal attitudinal changes associated with teacher career development. Unfortunately, his study focuses on female teachers, the majority of whom were unmarried in an era when married female teachers automatically lost their jobs.

Insights From Research on Teacher Morale

The shifting complex of attitudes and outlooks associated with the processes of aging which have been uncovered by developmental psychologists for adults in general have been confirmed, to some extent, with reference to teachers by a group of widely scattered studies of teacher attitudes.

Several words of caution are appropriate before these studies are cited, however. To begin with, they use a wide variety of different instruments, none of which may be comparable. Further, a great deal of the teacher morale research fails to differentiate teachers by age or level of experience. Apparently, just as the teaching career itself is assumed to be unstaged, so teachers of one age group or level of experience are assumed to hold the same attitudes and outlooks of teachers at another. In some of these studies, an effort has been made to distinguish between "beginning" and "experienced" teachers, but the definition of what constitutes an "experienced" teacher can vary from three to fifteen or more years of teaching experience. Nevertheless, if these research problems are kept in mind, studies of teacher morale reveal a pattern of changing attitudes and outlooks across the teaching career which parallels to a significant degree the findings from research in adult developmental psychology. Five studies will be cited in this section.

Raymond Kuhlen

Kuhlen[14] interviewed 649 junior and senior high school teachers and discovered that satisfaction and the sense of accomplishment and achievement increased with age and experience. He found no mid-career dissatisfaction among individuals in their thirties and forties as he had expected. Instead, he did find that as teachers entered their fifties they reported a decline in overall morale. Kuhlen attributed this to their sense of

discouragement regarding their career success. He concluded that teaching is characterized by increasing stability.

William Rabinowitz and Kay Crawford

Rabinowitz and Crawford[15] in a six-year longitudinal study of 1953-1954 education graduates of the city colleges of New York City found that older teachers, especially men for whom teaching was a second career and who were between the ages of thirty and fifty, were the most satisfied teacher group.

Judith Fuchel

Using the same group of education graduates from the city colleges of New York City, Fuchel identified 100 non-persistent and 94 persistant teachers and interviewed each group to determine the differences between them. All of her respondents were female. She found that the persistent group was not only older but less likely to report small children at home. Husbands of the persistent teachers made less money than did those of the non-persisters, but they also appeared to support their wives' decision more fully to have both a marriage and a career[16].

Averno Rempel and Ralph Bentley

Rempel and Bentley administered the Purdue Teacher Opinion-aire to 3,075 teachers in school districts in Indiana and Oregon[17] and found that reported levels of morale were lowest in the age group twenty-six to thirty-five. After age thirty-five, morale appeared to increase, causing these researchers to conclude:

> Evidently, the teachers lose some of their initial enthusiasm in the first years of teaching and then either regain such enthusiasm or leave the profession.[18]

David Ryans

Finally, in an attempt to determine whether and when teachers become "conservative," Ryans spent five years surveying more than 6,000 teachers in larger school systems across the United States. He found that teachers who were fifty-five years of age or older were less friendly, understanding, innovative, and imaginative than were their younger colleagues. He also found that teachers with twenty or more years of experience were more traditional and subject matter-centered. Experienced teachers were more likely to report that they liked students less than were those with less classroom experience[19].

What these five studies suggest is that teachers' attitudes about teaching and about themselves vary across career according to age and level of experience. Beginning teachers are characterized by high job morale which gradually declines during the first years of teaching but returns in a teacher's mid-thirties and forties. Again, the era from age thirty-five to age fifty appears to be one of high morale and career productivity. After the age of fifty, teachers again experience a change in outlook. They are less enthusiastic about their students and teaching in general. Family and monetary concerns also appear to affect the level of commitment to teaching and job performance across career.

An Interview Study of Retired Teachers

In an effort to acquire further information about how teachers' attitudes and outlooks change throughout the teaching career, fifty retired teachers were identified and interviewed between August and October of 1977[20]. The study was limited to individuals who had spent all or the majority of their work lives in teaching and who, therefore, were able to recall and reflect upon aspects of an entire teaching career.

Description of Participants

Participants in the study were either volunteers obtained at a meeting of the Franklin County (Ohio) Retired Teachers Association or referrals obtained from other participants as the study progressed.

Prospective participants were first contacted by a letter which described the study and requested their participation. This was followed by a telephone contact at which time prospective participants were asked directly for an interview. Seventy-six letters were sent out in order to obtain the final group of fifty participants. Several of the individuals contacted by mail did not meet the criteria established for the interview group. Others who refused participation most frequently cited a busy social schedule or ill health. Members of the final interview group were willing participants and proved to be actively interested and highly co-operative subjects.

Twenty-seven females, of whom fifteen had been or were

married, and twenty-three males, all of whom were married, made up the interview group. At the time of the interviews (1977), the teachers were an average age of 71.6 years and had been retired from teaching for an average of 7.6 years. All the participants in the study had been secondary school teachers who had spent an average of 38.4 years in the classroom.

The teaching fields of the participants included a sampling of most of the subjects offered in the junior and senior high school curriculum. Thirty-nine had been teachers of standard academic subjects, with teachers of English and mathematics accounting for one-half of the interview group. Eleven of the former teachers had been in such fields as business education, industrial arts, home economics, or physical education.

All of the individuals interviewed resided in Franklin County, Ohio, which contains the state capital of Columbus. Forty-six of the fifty teachers had retired from the Columbus Public School system. All of the teachers in the study had spent at least one quarter at the Ohio State University which is also located in Columbus, Ohio. The interviews were conducted at a time when a decision regarding court-ordered school busing to achieve racial desegregation in the Columbus Public Schools was pending.

All of the individuals in the study were interviewed in their place of residence, either in the afternoon or evening. Interviews lasted from two to four hours each, and all but one took place in one session. One individual needed two sessions

(a total of six hours) to complete the interview schedule.

The historical context of the interview group is of particular interest. Sixty per cent of the former teachers interviewed had been born between 1900 and 1909. Most had entered teaching between 1925 and 1934 and had retired from teaching between 1970 and 1977. The individuals interviewed in this study had experienced a period of unusually rapid social and political change which encompassed World War I and World War II, the advent of the so-called Cold War, the Great Depression of the 1930's, the various efforts of Blacks and other minority groups to win full civil rights within American society, and the so-called Youth Revolution of the 1960's and early 1970's. As teachers in the social and political environment of the public school system, this group of people was in constant contact with young people who frequently acted as the vanguard of new social and political outlooks in American society.

For many of the individuals in the sample group, the effort to adapt to rapidly changing value structures was an exhilarating one. For others, the pressures of change and the processes of aging came into conflict, causing them at first to resist new ways of thinking and doing things and subsequently to isolate themselves from all that was "new" within the school. Several members of the interview group retired from teaching expressing bitterness and regret because they had been unable to adapt themselves to change. These historical circumstances should be kept in mind as a reference point to the changing

attitudes and outlooks reported in this paper.

The Interview Schedule

The development of an effective interview schedule was essential to this study. Questions appearing on the final form were derived from several sources. Studies of adult development and teacher career development and morale suggested career turning points for further inquiry. Whenever possible, appropriate questions were borrowed from these studies. In addition, eleven pilot interviews were conducted before the final form was developed. The pilot group was subdivided into three groups: Group A, Group B, and Group C.

Pilot Group A consisted of three instructors at a two-year technical college in the central Ohio area. There were two females and one male in this initial group. This group was interviewed in the Spring of 1976. Subjects were asked to recall the highlights of their careers and how they had decided to become teachers. Questions presented to this group were generally open-ended, and subjects were encouraged to develop the interview as they felt appropriate. Later, these individuals offered their suggestions about the form and type of questions which might be asked in subsequent interviews.

Pilot Group B was made up of six individuals who had volunteered to participate in the study at a meeting of the Franklin County (Ohio) Retired Teachers' Association in June of 1976. This group consisted of two retired secondary school

teachers; two retired school administrators; one retired university professor; and one retired elementary school teacher. Each interview brought further insights about the ways in which the questionnaire could be improved. The interview schedule was literally revised and rewritten after each of these interviews. Interviews with members of Pilot Group B helped to establish the appropriate form and sequence of questions which enabled teachers to recall their careers in chronological order.

The final interview form was ready by the summer of 1977. The final pilot group, Pilot Group C consisted of two unmarried females who had been teachers and then were asked to become vice principals. They had spent the majority of their careers in school administration and were thus ineligible for inclusion in the final interview group. These two women were the first unmarried females to be interviewed using the questionnaire in its final form. Interviews with these two women indicated that unmarried women would be willing to speak frankly about their plans for marriage and career. Further questions were framed and included in the interview schedule regarding family cycle participation for both married and unmarried individuals as a result of these two interviews.

The final interview schedule* was divided into four sections: (1) a section focusing on personal events in the lives of teachers including educational background and aspects of the family cycle; (2) a section asking for information about career development, extra curricular activities, community

*The interview schedule in included in the Appendix to this paper.

activities, hobbies, and supplementary work experiences; (3) a section asking for a detailed recollection of each teaching assignment; and (4) a section that asked each teacher to comment on changes which he or she had noticed in approaches to teaching, students, colleagues, and other aspects of the school. In the final section of the interview, subjects were asked to identify their happiest time in teaching and to indicate why they had remained teachers for an entire work career. By the time this final section was reached in the interview, subjects were well prepared to provide brief and significant responses.

Interview responses were taken down in written form. None of the interviews was tape-recorded. Later, the results of each interview were transferred to an interview report form. Significant direct quotes from interviews were written down and included as part of the interview summary.

Basic mathematical procedures were used to analyze the data, i.e., averages to establish mean ages when certain common events occured, age ranges showing the youngest and oldest ages when an event occurred among members of the teacher group, and group percentages.

Another method of data analysis used was theme analysis tied to each life decade. An effort was made to establish common themes for each decade from age twenty to sixty and to determine when teachers felt they had been their most productive, happiest and so on. Information was tabulated for each of the

teachers groups interviewed: married males, single females, and married females.

The study undertaken and reported here was a cross-sectional retrospective one with all the limitations and possibilities that such studies provide. While every effort was made to adhere to standard social science research procedures, the author is aware that the results reported have limited potential for generalization. It is her hope that the results of this study will stimulate further, and, hopefully, more sophisticated inquiries into the nature of the teaching career and the way that it develops and changes over time.

Interview Results

Two areas of changing perceptions which emerged from the interviews with retired teachers will be reported here: (1) changes in personal attitudes and (2) changes in attitudes towards others. Wherever possible, the average ages at which teachers reported these changes will be cited. Teachers will be identified in direct quotations by a letter representing the sex of the respondent and by a number representing the sequence in which that person was interviewed.

Changes in Personal Attitudes

Four areas of personal change were reported by the retired teachers as they recalled their careers: (a) changes in level of commitment to teaching; (b) changes in level of

job morale; (c) changes associated with the physical processes of aging; and (d) changes in levels of patience and tolerance.

Level of Commitment to Teaching

Lortie[21] has noted that teaching often fails to win the full involvement of teachers. He has suggested that male teachers develop outside work or avocational interests which compete with teaching for a man's time and energy; while female teachers who are married divide their energies between their work career and their family and home interests. The results of this study confirm Lortie's insights and suggest a pattern to changing career commitments that is associated with the demands of the family cycle for both men and women. The career commitment of single women also appears to vary according to the demands of family obligations. Generally speaking, the retired teachers interviewed indicated that their greatest commitment to teaching occurred in the early years of their career and in its middle phase. During the late twenties and early thirties, commitment began to wane. A second era of decreased commitment appeared to occur in the mid-fifties and continued through the period of preparing for and concluding the process of retirement. Decreased commitment to teaching in the early career appeared to have been associated with the personal and financial pressures of establishing and maintaining a family; while declining commitment at the end of the career appeared to have been associated with biological aging and the loss of energy and enthusiasm for teaching.

Thirty-eight of the fifty teachers interviewed had been married at least once. The average age at the time of the first marriage was 27.4. Male teachers had married at the earlier average age of 25.8; while female teachers reported an average age of 29.9 years at the time of their first marriages. Of the thirty-eight who were married, thirty-five (or approximately 90 per cent) had had at least one child. The average age at the birth of the first child was 32.6 years for the group as a whole. Teachers were an average age of 36.3 when their last child was born. Financial responsibility for children among this teacher group began in the early thirties and continued until the mid-fifties. Teachers reported that they were an average age of 55.9 when their last child left home and ceased being dependent on them for financial support.

While single females did not experience the financial stresses associated with establishing a family, they were often involved in the support and care of members of their families of origin. Several of the married teachers also indicated that they had cared for and supported their parents, siblings or other relatives. Typically, such support and care began in a person's mid-thirties and continued until the early fifties.

A solution to the added financial burden of family responsibilities was for teachers to take a second and supplementary job. Twenty-nine members of the interview group reported having had such jobs. Among the male teachers, twenty-two of twenty-three reported such work. Of these, eleven had jobs which were of such significance that they competed with teaching

for the teacher's time and energy. Several of the male teachers reported that they had retired from teaching in order to devote themselves more fully to their second careers! The sorts of jobs which competed with teaching included: ownership of a private business or service; sales work; evening teaching outside of the public school system; and work as a musician. Teachers also reported summer work in business and industry; home maintenance and building work; recreational activities; and various odd jobs. Teachers reported that they had taken supplementary work at the average age of 30.4 years and had concluded such work at the average age of 55.5. There can be no doubt that the years in which teachers maintained second jobs were not ones in which these individuals were able to devote themselves fully to teaching.

Another area of personal concern which diluted commitment to teaching for female teachers in particular was the need to nurture and care for family members. Of the fifteen married females in the interview group, thirteen had left teaching for an average of 8.4 years. Twelve of these women had left teaching to marry and raise children. One woman took a brief Civil Service job in order to be close to her husband prior to his service in World War II. It should be noted at this point that school policies in Columbus, Ohio, and elsewhere made it necessary for a married woman to leave teaching. Many of the married females interviewed indicated that they had wanted to remain in teaching after their marriages but were unable to do so. Some had wanted to return to teaching after the birth of their children but were

unable to obtain a permanent contract. The Columbus Public Schools hired married female teachers as permanent substitutes who moved from school to school, but it was not until the mid-1950's that married women were hired without restrictions. Thus, for the married female teachers in the interview group special circumstances acted to dilute and disrupt commitment to teaching.

Another personal concern of significance that undermined commitment to teaching was the need to care for a family member. Virtually every one of the twelve unmarried female teachers interviewed reported having lived for an extended period of time with a member of her family of origin , and most of these also reported having taken responsibility--both personally and financially--for the care of at least one of her parents in addition to other relatives. Three of the twelve cared for only one relative; four cared for two; and five cared for three or more individuals. Members of this teacher group frequently reported that the care of their parents and other relatives had been a central focus of their lives for a time. One woman reported that she had closed down five households during a five-year period while she was in her fifties. She commented: "It really takes something out of you." (F-13) One woman reported having suffered a nervous breakdown after the death of her father; while another simply said: "I was pretty well at the end of my string when my father died. It was pretty rugged caring for him." (F-12)

Ten of the fifteen married female teachers reported having cared for parents and in-laws. Seven of these cared

for one person and three cared for two. No one in this group reported having cared for more than two relatives.

Only four married males reported having cared for either their own or their wife's parents. Each of these had assumed responsibility for one person. All of the teachers who reported providing such care indicated that such care ceased at the average age of 54.1--an age which almost coincides with the time when financial responsibility for children also ceased.

Late career reports of declining commitment to teaching appeared to be associated with declining energy and the process of biological aging. Most often, this disengagement from teaching was signaled by a perception of some sort of negative change in an aspect of the school environment. Such changes included changes in the socio-economic condition of the school, changes in student attitudes, changes in academic standards and changes in teacher behavior. Of the thirty-seven individuals who reported noticing some sort of change in the school environment, the average age at which changes were first perceived was 55.0. These perceptions of negative changes were not tied to historical circumstances and appeared to occur at the same time regardless of when a teacher retired.

Since there was evidence of increasing financial resources in the mid-fifties, it was expected that the teachers would report increased involvement in outside groups, hobbies and travel--experiences which had possibly been precluded by family responsibilities earlier in their careers. The surprising finding, however, was that very few teachers shifted

their interest from teaching to other activities, suggesting that the process of psychological disengagement as articulated by Neugarten may have been underway among members of this teacher group. In any event, from the average age of fifty-five onwards, teachers appeared to become less active in all areas of their lives.

Level of Job Morale

Teachers were asked several questions designed to elicit shifting patterns of job morale. At the end of the interview, they were asked to recall and identify their happiest time in teaching. Forty-six individuals provided a usable response to this question. Surprisingly, members of the interview group as a whole indicated that their happiest time in teaching began at the average age of 38.3 and ended at the average age of 49.9. The beginning of the happiest time in teaching appeared to coincide with the time that the teacher took his or her last teaching assignment. Apparently, once teachers had found their optimal teaching environment, they focused their energies and abilities on being productive and successful teachers.

In contrast to the findings of Warren A. Peterson, only ten teachers indicated that their happiest time in teaching had ended by the age of twenty-five. Ten cited the ages between twenty-five and forty-five as their happiest time; and twenty-three (i.e., one-half of the group providing a response to the question) indicated that their happiest time occurred between the ages of forty-five and sixty. Only three felt that the

years between sixty and sixty-five were their most satisfying in teaching.

This information appears to confirm the findings of those who designate the years between forty and sixty as the "prime" of life.

Other impressions regarding job morale emerged during the course of interviews. The teachers in this particular sample group overwhelmingly reported that their first years in teaching had been successful and satisfying. Only two individuals recalled difficulties with learning how to teach or manage a classroom. The early years of teaching, as recalled by this retired group, appear to have been rather care free and "fun". These were the years prior to family responsibilities,and teachers who had vivid memories of their early career emphasized the importance of colleagial friendships and community involvement. However, teachers did not see these early years as their most successful from a professional standpoint. The typical pattern was to spend only three to five years at each teaching assignment as teachers searched for higher salaries and better teaching circumstances. During these early years, teachers recall having been among the youngest members of the faculty. Often they were given heavy teaching loads and a great deal of extra-curricular responsibilites. Their energy and enthusiasm enabled them to meet their school responsibilities, but they seldom reported innovative teaching techniques or other evidences of a more reflective approach to teaching. Apparently, then, "happiness" in teaching implies not only desirable teaching circumstances and close personal

relationships, but also the ability to be professionally productive, something which it took teachers in the interview group approximately fifteen years to achieve.

Mention has already been made of the declining commitment to teaching which appeared to emerge in the mid-fifties for members of the interview group. This declining commitment was reflected in reports of job morale during this period. Several teachers reported that that had found the last years of teaching quite difficult and unrewarding. One woman summarized this view when she said: "Toward the end, the whole thing got to be a big headache." (F-8) Another reported: "I was getting to be an old lady. Yes, I'd had it!" (F-24) A perceived lack of student interest in what was being taught made retirement seem appealing. One man said: "I was working hard, and they /the students_/ weren't." (M-12) Another woman commented: "I tried to get my students to work to their potential, or what I felt was their potential, but then I got discouraged and got out." (F-21)

However, despite the fact that teachers were in the process of disengaging themselves from their career, two-thirds of those interviewed said that they had retired from teaching feeling satisfied with themselves and their careers! A number of these individuals regretted having to retire and only left teaching at the mandatory age of retirement. One woman recalled the day she submitted her resignation to her principal: "I wept when I left. The poor man probably didn't know what to do with me." (F-14) Several were able to present their careers in a highly positive light at the time of retirement. One man

said: "Teaching helped my life to be a full life. Life wouldn't have been as full in other areas." (M-5) Another said: "I never worked a day in my life. I had fun." (M-7)

Thus, indications of disengagement from teaching apparently do not signal declining job morale. Teachers in the era from age fifty-five until retirement were generally able to maintain their job morale, even though they sensed that their most productive and fulfilling years in teaching were behind them.

Changes in Physical Appearance

An interesting group of personal attitudes reported by the retired teachers was their feelings as they became aware of the physical changes associated with aging. For some, these perceptions had a dramatic impact. Several teachers reported having had serious illnesses or injuries in their forties and fifties. Some found that they lacked the energy to continue coaching or teaching such subjects as physical education and had to retrain themselves at mid-career to assume new responsibilities in the school.

Concern about changes in physical appearance seemed to emerge in a teacher's forties and fifties. Women, both married and unmarried, seemed particularly concerned about changes in their appearance. Several women reported that they had wanted to retire from teaching before they perceived themselves or were perceived by others as being "too old to teach." One woman's comment was typical: "I would see the old teachers dragging themselves around, and I would say: don't let that

be me. If I can't run down this hall, I don't want it!" (F-11) Another woman said: "At the end of your career, you begin to wonder if you are getting too old to be effective and if students think you are too old."

Perceptions of their physical aging were highlighted when teachers encountered former students. One man said simply: "It makes you feel that you've been around too long." (M-13), after he met a student at a school open house. Another woman told the school librarian after meeting a former student: "I just aged twenty years." (F-19) One teacher reported that she met "an old man" who told her that she had been his teacher when she first started out. She was shocked at the contrast between his appearance and her own internal perceptions of how she had aged. Another woman attended a class reunion of students she had had during her first years of teaching and said: "They were kids in high school and I was teaching them, and now they're old folks. It was quite interesting to see them." (F-23) This latter individual was age seventy-seven at the time of the interview.

These comments indicate that teachers were quite anxious about others perceiving them as "old," but that they often were unaware of the physical processes of aging until they confronted a former student or until their age somehow separated them from others in the school. It should be noted that teachers in the interview group were a remarkably vigorous and "youthful" appearing group of individuals. Only a few of them appeared to be "aged" individuals. Most looked much younger than their chrono-

logical age. It may have been that this was an unusual group of individuals who were not typical of retired teachers in general,or it may have been that spending a career working with adolescents had helped these individuals look and feel young!

Changes in Levels of Tolerance and Patience

At the end of the interview, the teachers were asked directly how they felt they had changed as they grew older. This question generated an intriguing and unanticipated polar response. About sixty per cent of the teachers answered the question with regard to their perceived level of tolerance and patience. Twenty individuals said that they had become more tolerant and patient as they had aged. These individuals reported that in their early careers they had been perfectionists and that they were frequently disappointed in student performance and the behavior of their colleagues and friends. Ten individuals, on the other hand, reported that they had grown less tolerant and patient over the years and found that they were glad to be away from the short-comings of the school environment. Apparently, both groups of teachers--the tolerant/patient and intolerant/impatient--had seen their attitudes begin to change in their late forties and early fifties, suggesting that those researchers who cite a period of "mid life" reassessment may be correct. Only two individuals said that they had seen no changes in themselves as they grew older.

To summarize this section on the personal changes that

the retired teachers recalled and described during the course of their interviews, it appears that the teaching career can be divided into three broad attitudinal phases. The first phase lasts from the approximate ages of twenty until age forty and involves considerable shifts in commitment to teaching, job morale, and other outlooks. Teachers are in the process of establishing themselves in their careers, finding the optimal school environment, and are also deeply involved in their families. This is a period of "ups" and "downs" for teachers which appears to come to an end when they manage to find a school which offers them the opportunity to put down roots and begin a phase of professional commitment and growth. The second phase of teaching appears to last from the approximate ages of forty until fifty-five. Teachers in this phase have high job morale and commitment to teaching. They are at the professional peak of their careers during this time. The final attitudinal phase is marked by a withdrawal from the teaching profession and is again characterized by a variety of different attitudes and outlooks. This phase lasts from the approximate ages of fifty-five until retirement. During this time, teachers are able to maintain high job morale but are aware of the effects of biological aging. Energy and enthusiasm for teaching begin to fade. Some teachers in this phase actively yearn for retirement and look with bitter intolerance on the school environment. Others find new personal resources, become more patient and understanding, and are able to look with satisfaction on their career accomplishments.

Changes in Attitudes Towards Others

Teachers reported that their perceptions of the following five groups of people had changed or modified across their careers: (a) students; (b) parents; (c) members of the school community; (d) colleagues; and (e) administrators. It was apparent that changing historical circumstances accounted for several of the changes that were noted.

Students

Teachers were not only asked to comment on the type of students they had had in each of their teaching assignments, but were asked directly how they felt students had changed over time. The results strongly paralleled the findings of Warren Peterson cited earlier in this paper. Teachers started out feeling close in age and experience to their students. As they aged, they increasingly saw their students from a parental perspective. Significantly, several teachers reported that their happiest time in teaching coincided with the time that their students were the ages of their children. Finally, at the end of their careers, the majority of the teachers interviewed saw themselves as greatly removed from their students in age and experience.

The majority of teachers interviewed seemed to feel that students had changed in negative ways over the years. They were distressed by the lack of seriousness and interest in schoolwork shown by their last groups of students. Some reported that students appeared to lack respect for authority. This situation

had been aggravated for some who had experienced the new militance of certain racial and ethnic groups. Several teachers reported incidents of vandalism that had deeply disturbed them. Teachers were also bewildered by the new value structure of students: their present-orientation, their sexual explicitness, their interest in drug experiences.

It was difficult to determine whether the views expressed by teachers indicated actual changes in the behavior of young people or whether the teachers were expressing their end of career attitudes towards students. It seems likely, however, that attitudes and outlooks among students have changed significantly since the 1920's when most members of the interview group began their careers. A typical comment was the following: "Teachers used to tell students what to do. Now they ask them to do things." (F-10) seemed to highlight the changes which had occurred in the teacher/student relationship. However, several teachers reported finding new student attitudes exhilarating and promising. One woman commented: "Students today are more self-sufficient and want to express themselves more freely." (F-25) She indicated that she encouraged this sense of self-sufficiency with excellent results in her classes.

Parents

Again, teacher perceptions of parents had changed as they had grown older. At first, obviously, they were younger than most of the parents of their students. Later, at mid-career, they tended to be the same age as their students' parents;

and, finally, at the end of their careers, they found themselves much older than parents. Many teachers reported that they felt parents in the 1970's were less involved in their children's lives and more involved in making money and acquiring a comfortable lifestyle. Many cited the increasing divorce rate and the tendency of women to work outside the home as sources of student problems.

Teachers reported that sometime in the late 1950's and early 1960's they had seen the breakdown of the traditional parent/teacher alliance in favor of a new parent/student alliance that often resulted in difficulties for teachers. As an illustration of the strength of the former parent-teacher socializing bond, one woman recalled that during the 1940's a parent had telephoned her school to ask that her daughter be sent home to make her bed. The student was sent home as requested! In the new era, however, teachers became cautious before reprimanding students or requiring them to remain after school because they feared a hostile reaction from parents. Apparently, too, teachers felt that they could not always count on administrative support for their decisions. One man reported that he had been sued by a student and his parents. Others indicated that they had been threatened and "called on the carpet" for decisions that they had made regarding students. Again, it is difficult to determine whether teachers were reporting end-of-career attitudes or whether significant changes had occurred in their relationships to parents.

Members of the School Community

Forty-one members of the interview group reported that they had started their teaching careers in rural or small town schools. Recalling their early years in teaching, these individuals remarked on the high level of community involvement in and support for schools. In some cases, this involvement had had some unpleasant aspects. Teachers felt that their freedom of behavior was too sharply constrained by community pressure. One teacher reported that she had had to go to extreme lengths to conceal her smoking from members of the local school board. Another woman was fired from an early teaching job because she had be 25-cents on a bridge hand and was subsequently accused of "gambling." A male teacher was chagrined to discover that he was expected to teach Sunday school in addition to his public school teaching.

By contrast, when this teacher group ended their careers, forty-six were teaching in a large urban school system. Direct community involvement in the school was limited and if and when it occurred was often perceived as negative involvement. During the 1960's, several teachers were located in schools that became the targets of community protest efforts. Many teachers reported that they felt alienated from the school community and unable to rely on it for professional and financial support.

Colleagues

Generally speaking, teachers were most friendly with

colleagues who shared the same interests and experiences and were approximately the same age they were. At the beginning of their careers, teachers often found themselves to be younger than most of their colleagues. At mid-career, most teachers found themselves to be members of a peer group of same-age colleagues. Often, members of this group would socialize after school hours. Close family associations developed in some schools among same-age teacher cliques. Members of such groups might work or travel together during the summers. Often, the relationships forged at mid-career endured past retirement. Several teachers indicated that they were still meeting their peers on a regular and organized social basis. Finally, at the end of their careers, teachers tended to find themselves isolated from their colleagues by age and value structures. Newer, younger teachers were often seen as "unprofessional," individuals who were lax with standards of student performance, overly involved in politics and likely to view teaching as "just a job," rather than as a life commitment. This negative view of younger teachers often extended to student teachers as well. The improved economic and legal status of teachers in the 1960's was often a source of bitterness among the retired teacher group. Many resented that younger teachers made more money for doing less than they had in their early career. Several teachers were especially resentful of the new militance among the younger teacher group: the willingness to join a teachers' union and to go on strike. Several of the teachers interviewed spoke with pride of their role as strike-breakers in a 1974 walk-out in the Columbus Public

Schools. One woman reported that no one spoke to her for two weeks after the strike ended. She stopped using the teachers' room and spent her free time in her classroom--alone. Not all of those interviewed reported being alienated from the younger teachers in their schools at the end of their careers, however. One man noted with satisfaction: "You can't lie to young teachers. They call you on it." Male teachers, in particular welcomed an end to the popular image of the school teacher as "dry" and "sexless." They were also glad to see the end of what they termed the "Miss Dove" and/or "Mr. Chips" syndrome among newer teachers.

Administrators

The overwhelming majority of the individuals interviewed for this study had retired from the urban school system of Columbus, Ohio. As part of their experience in that system, one of the things that teachers had noticed and commented upon was the tremendous proliferation of administrative jobs within the school bureaucracy. Some had been asked to train for administrative positions as the system expanded. They saw administrative work as trivial and unrewarding.

Opinions of administrators differed significantly for men and women. Teachers were asked whether they had ever considered leaving teaching for school administration. Many were emphatic in their insistence that they had wanted no part of being a school official. Male teachers tended to perceive

principals and other administrative personnel as authority figures in the school which had to be resisted or blocked. Thus, males were particularly outspoken in their criticisms of school administrators calling them "dictators" or "paper pushers" surrounded by "sycophants" and "puppets." One man remarked: "You had to have a religious overlay and a Masonic streak, but not have very many brains /to be a principal/. The progress in education inthe last few years shows that." (M-19) Another man added: "Teachers who are really up on things are naturally at odds with administrators." (M-1) After teacher tenure laws were instituted in the 1950's, male teachers in particular took satisfaction in being "fireproof". They then felt free to ignore or refuse administrative requests and to speak out frankly on various school issues. This is not to say that some male teachers did not have good relationships with their school principal. Many did, but few indicated any desire to leave the classroom for administrative work.

Women had a slightly different view of administrators. Generally speaking, jobs in school administration were not open to women until the late 1960's--a time when most members of the interview group were preparing for retirement. As a result, principals and other administrators were predominantly male. Female teachers reported that in their early careers they had looked up to their principal and had deferred to his instructions, sometimes to an absurd degree. One woman was reprimanded by her principal for wearing a vest he considered to be too "daring" (it was bright red) and she gave up wearing

it to school. As female teachers gained experience, they also reported learning how to manipulate school personnel in order to achieve some of their ends. Many teachers subsequently found themselves much older than their school principal and used the weight of their age and experience to get their way within the school. However, these tactics were not always successful and male administrators would reassert their essentially paternalistic power on occasion. One woman reported that she had been "silenced" by her principal who told her: "If you object to change, it means you are getting old." (F-21) As we have seen, such a threat was deeply feared by female teachers, and it served its purpose in this instance.

To summarize this section, the retired teachers interviewed in this study indicated that they perceived different groups within the school in different ways during their career development. As they gained in age and experience, teachers grew closer to their colleagues of the same age, but further from their students and their students parents. Historical events surrounding the school also affected the perceptions of teachers across time. Changing values and behaviors among students and their parents, as well as among members of the school community placed teachers in different roles and relationships across their careers.

Concluding Remarks

This paper has reported the results of an interview study of fifty retired secondary school teachers who were asked to recall and describe changes in their attitudes towards them-

selves and towards others as their work career unfolded. The information reported indicates that teacher attitudes and outlooks change in fairly predictable sequences which are in turn related to changes associated with the processes of adult development and aging. Obviously, much research remains to be done on this aspect of career development of teachers. However, even this limited study indicates that the so-called "unstaged" teaching career is a complex of shifting behaviors, learnings, and attitudes and outlooks which can be discerned and from which a concept of the teaching career can be developed.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Howard S. Becker, "The Career of the Chicago Public School Teacher," American Journal of Sociology, 57 (1952), pp. 470-477.

[2]For a more detailed treatment of these topics see Anne R. Peterson, Career Patterns of Secondary School Teachers: An Exploratory Interview Study of Retired Teachers (Unpublished Ph.D Dissertation, the Ohio State University, 1978); and Katherine K. Newman, Middle-Aged Experienced Teachers' Perceptions of their Career Development (Unpublished Ph.D Dissertation, the Ohio State University, 1978).

[3]Some promising research in this area are the First and Second Year Teacher Studies under the direction of Dr. Kevin Ryan of Ohio State University.

[4]Daniel Levinson and others, The Seasons of a Man's Life, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978).

[5]Ibid., pp. 252-253.

[6]Roger Gould, "Adult Life Stages: Growth Toward Self Tolerance," Psychology Today (February, 1975), pp. 74-78.

[7]Bernice L. Neugarten, "The Awareness of Middle Age," in B.L. Neugarten, ed. Middle Age and Aging (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. 93-98.

[8]Memories, Dreams, Reflections (New York: Vintage Books, 1961). See especially Chapter VI "Confrontation With the Unconscious," pp. 170-179.

[9]Bernice L. Neugarten and associates. Personality in Middle and Late Life: Eight Empirical Studies. (New York: Atherton Press, 1964).

[10]Ibid., p. 198.

[11]Robert J. Havinghurst, Bernice L. Neugarten, and Sheldon Tobin, "Disengagement and Patterns of Aging," in B. L. Neugarten, ed. Middle Age and Aging (1968), p. 170.

[12]Warren A. Peterson, "Age, Teacher's Role and the Institutional Setting," in Bruce J. Biddle and William J. Ellena,

editors. Contemporary Research on Teacher Effectiveness, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964), pp. 264-315.

[13]Ibid., p. 270.

[14]Raymond Kuhlen, Career Development in the Public School Teaching Profession (Syracuse: Syracuse University Institute of Research, 1959).

[15]William Rabinowitz and Kay E. Crawford, "A Study of Teachers' Careers," School Review, 68 (Winter, 1960), pp. 377-399.

[16]Judith C. Fuchel. Motivational Factors Influencing Persistence in Teaching as Revealed by Interviews. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of HEW, Office of Education, Bureau of Research, 1966).

[17]Averno Rempel and Ralph Bentley, "Teacher Morale: Relationship With Selected Factors," Journal of Teacher Education, 21 (Winter, 1970), pp. 534-539.

[18]Ibid., p. 538.

[19]David G. Ryans, Characteristics of Teacners. (Washington, D.C. : American Council on Education, 1960).

[20]The complete scope of this study is described in the author's Ph.D dissertation, Career Patterns of Secondary School Teachers (Ohio State, 1968), cited previously.

[21]Dan C. Lortie, Schoolteacher. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), pp. 93-95.

APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE

Part I. Personal Background Information

Name:_____Date of Interview:_____

1. In what year were you born?
2. Are you married, widowed, divorced, separated, have you never been married or what?
3. In what year were you married?
4. In what year were you widowed, divorced, remarried, etc.?
5. (If married) Do you have any children? Yes No
6. (If yes) how many? what ages?
7. Do you have any grandchildren? Yes No
8. (If yes) how many? what ages?
9. Did you ever live with your parents, your spouses' parents, a brother or sister, nephew or niece or other relative for any extended period of time? Yes No
10. (If yes) With whom? When?
11. Did you ever take responsibility for caring for your parents, your spouse's parents, a brother or sister, nephew or niece or other relative for any length of time? Yes No
12. (If yes) Who? During what time period?
13. Where did you get your bachelor's degree?
14. In what year did you get your bachelor's degree?
15. What were your major fields?
16. Do you have a masters degree? Yes No
17. (If yes) Where and when did you get it?
18. (If yes) What fields is your masters degree in?
19. Do you have a doctorate? Yes No
20. (If yes) Where and when did you get it? What fields?
21. (If no) Did you do work beyond your masters degree? Yes No
22. (If yes) Where? When? In what fields? With what intentions?

Part II. General Career Information

1. Have you been teaching continuously since you finished your teacher training? Yes No
2. If not, when did you leave teaching? What did you do?
3. If not, how long were you out of teaching?
4. If not, when did you return to teaching?
5. If not, why did you return to teaching?
6. How much time did you miss from school because of accidents or illness?
7. When were these periods?
8. When you first started teaching, how did you imagine that your career would unfold?
9. Looking back over your career now, were there any surprises, any unexpected things that happened or did your career unfold more or less as you thought it would?
10. If there were surprises, what were they and when did they occur?
11. Did you ever consider leaving teaching altogether? Yes No
12. If yes, why?
13. If yes, when?
14. If yes, why did you decide to remain in teaching?
15. Did you ever consider going into school administration? Yes No
16. If yes, why?
17. If yes, when?
18. If yes, why did you prefer to remain in teaching?
19. If not, why not?
20. When you entered teaching did you find that it took a short time to adjust to the rigors of the classroom or did it require an extended period of adjustment?
21. If you had to adjust, how long did it take you to adjust and what things did you have to learn how to do?
22. Approximately how often would you say you revised your courses by adding new readings, new methods, new information and so on?
23. What are some course revisions that you made which you are particularly proud of?
24. When did you make these revisions or additions?

25. When did you stop revising your courses?
26. Did you ever win any honors or special commendations for teaching?
27. If yes, which ones and when?
28. Did any of your students win any honors or special recognitions as a result of being in your classroom or on a team or group that you coached or spent time with?
29. If yes, what sort of honors?
30. If yes, when?
31. What professional teacher related groups did you belong to while you were teaching?
32. Approximately when were you a member of these groups?
33. Did you hold offices in these groups or otherwise become very active in them?
34. If so, when?
35. What organizations outside of school were you a member of? I am thinking of such things as PTA, Scouts, church groups, AAUW, Kinanis and so on.
36. When were you active in or a member of these groups?
37. Did you ever hold any offices or special roles in these groups?
38. If so, which ones and when?
39. Do you have any hobbies that you spent time pursuing while you were teaching?
40. If so, which ones and when did you take them up?
41. Did you do any significant traveling while you were teaching?
42. If so, where did you go and when?
43. Did you take evening or parttime work while you were teaching?
44. If so, where did you work?
45. If so, when did you have this work?
46. Did you work during the summers?
47. If so, what did you do?
48. If so, which summers did you work?
49. When did you first begin to think about retiring?
50. When did you retire?
51. Why did you decide to retire when you did?

Part III. Teaching Assignments in Chronological Order

Ask the teacher to provide the following information about each school he/she taught in:

Name of school
Location
Years at school
Courses/grade level taught
Extra curricular activities he/she sponsored
Extra duties in the school (coach, school treasurer, attendance officer)
What kind of students did you have at this school?
How did you fit in with the faculty?
- Age level? Were you older or younger than most faculty members?
- Type of social involvement?
- Membership in any particular cliques?
- What role did you play in the faculty?

How many principals did you serve under at this school?
What type of person was each one?

Are there any other highlights of this assignment that you recall?

Why did you leave this school?

Part IV. Perceptions of Change and Evaluations of the Teaching Career

1. What changes, if any, did you notice in yourself as you grew older?
2. Did your relationships with students change in any ways over the years?
3. If so, how did they change? When did they change?
4. Did students themselves change in any ways over the years?
5. If so, how did they change?
6. Were there ever discipline problems in your school? Drugs? Vandalism? The use of foul language? Other things?
7. Did you notice any changes in teachers over the years?
8. If so, what sort of changes did you notice?
9. If so, when did these changes begin to appear?
10. Did you ever have the experience of having your former students children in class?
11. If so, when did this happen?

12. Did you ever have your former students grandchildren in class?

13. If so, when?

14. Looking back over your entire career, what period would you say was the happiest time for you in teaching?

15. Why was this the happiest time for you?

16. Many educators are concerned about the high turnover rate among teachers, the fact that less than half of all people trained to be teachers actually remain in the field more than 10 years. From your experience why did teachers leave the classroom while you were teaching?

17. You, on the other hand, made a full career out of teaching. Why did you stay in teaching for a full career?

18. Finally, would you be able to give me the names of other retired secondary school teachers whom you know who you think might be willing to participate in this interview study?